THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

January 12, 1946

INDIRECT CENSORSHIP?

AN EDITORIAL

Marshall's Mission

Planning Peace Difficult

By Walter H. Wiener

Okinawa Re-Visited

By Lt. Joseph P. Lyford

CHINA'S CIVIL SERVICE

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 100 PRICE CNC$150 NUMBER 7

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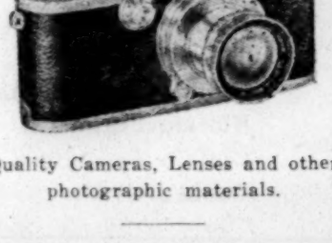

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What People Are Saying

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of **The China Weekly Review.**

Easy Stages

To The Editor:

It seems to me, after reading your editorial on censorship in last week's issue of the Review, that you foreigners never can understand that China and America are two entirely different propositions.

Eventually, of course, China will have free speech, a free press and so on, but at the moment the country is not ready for these things. As Dr. Sun pointed out, China must first go through a period of tutelage before she is ready for complete self-government by the people. The people first must be educated, their economic level must be raised. Then, after their station in life and educational level is more nearly like those existing in America and Britain, the people will be ready to exercise their power with judgement and stability.

At present the restrictions hampering "these essential freedoms" are very light and hardly worth bothering about. Complete press freedom now exists in what was formerly Free China. It is only in the presently unsettled and confused areas liberated from the Japanese that some restraint is placed upon the press. Also the government has already announced that political prisoners are to be released. This was agreed upon in the talks between the Generalissimo and Mao Tze-tung. The government already has started this release, since it is reported in the papers that Chang Hsueh-liang, the "Young Marshal," has now been removed to Chungking prior to his release.

It is evident that it is the government's intention to give the people their freedom. It just takes time for the people to learn to use this freedom wisely. I think that you foreigners should not make too hasty judgements because things here are not like they are "at home." Just give us a little time and China will develop her freedoms and her democracy in a manner best suited for China.

CHUNG SHIH-HAN

Shanghai,
January 9, 1946.

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Taxation

To The Editor:

WHEN the war of resistance began the Chinese people supported the nation fully, giving both material and manpower. During the long Japanese occupation, those of us who remained in Occupied China, longed for the end of the war and the return of our rightful government.

Following the surrender of the Japanese, we were all overjoyed, especially when officials from Chungking arrived to take over the administration from the Japanese and puppets. We felt that all our privations and difficulties were past and that China was now entering upon the long-awaited period of peace and prosperity.

However, conditions have steadily deteriorated in many respects. One of the worst problems facing the people today is the exorbitant taxation extracted by the officials. In the interior of Chekiang the taxes are most unbearable. If such unlawful practices are allowed to continue, they will easily shake the people's confidence in the government.

Therefore, it is imperative for the responsible authorities to stop this extortion on the part of corrupt officials and to find the correct and proper means for the collection of reasonable taxes. The people's sufferings must be aleviated.

ALFRED WANG

Hangchow
January 1, 1946.

THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

Cable Address "REVIEWING SHANGHAI"

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A Soldier Speaks

To The Editor:

I AM one of the few college boys working for the Chinese Army down here. I want to reveal to the public the true and unvarnished story about the undernourished, much-neglected, much-despised and cotton-coated Chinese soldiers.

We have won the war, but what does victory means? To some it means bars, stars and medals; to some automobiles and buildings. But to us, the members of the army of China, it means pamphlets and papers and two meals a day. We have breakfast at 10:00 a.m. and lunch-dinner at 4:00 p.m. I doubt if there is a single home in Shanghai that adopts this starving two-meal a day system. Then why should we? We are told that our country is poor and our government finds it impossible to give us satisfactory treatment. This is true, but conditions would be much better if the whole system were cleaned up; if corruption and inefficiency were removed. We have too many high officials who.... spend their time seeking pleasure.

We want to see movies, but we have no movies of our own that we can see free. We have to pay. We want to pay but we can't. We are poverty-stricken. We have a poor government. As all of us know, there have already been a number of smash-ups against the theaters by some soldiers who refused to pay. Theater managers who refuse admittance without tickets are not to blame, because the theater is a business organization.

Like most young boys all over the world, most soldiers started out with ideals but they were crushed long ago. Our military life has become pretty much a life characterized by rank, which means privilege and injustice. There are horrors in the military life that are beyond the imagination. Few understand that our foremost requirements are a little pork, some human sympathy and some system of getting a little justice.

Most of us have no relations nor friends in this city. Yes, like the American soldiers we are homesick. We really do not know when we can go back to our native towns. Shanghai is a great city, a paradise for those who are rich. But the people in Shanghai seem cold and cruel to us. Girls never smile at us. However, that is understandable. We are just like coolies, mostly uneducated, empty-pocketed and cotton-coated. Life is lonesome and melancholy. Complaints are heard all around.

Here in Shanghai soldiers are strictly prohibited from visiting brothels, though there are many such places in the city that have got official licenses to do business. Sex is a universal desire. However, the Chinese soldiers are robbed of their sexual life. Conditions have not, and will not, permit them to settle down and marry. Even the most conservative and stubborn Japanese war lords let their troops go a proper way. The Chinese authorities just don't care about it at all. We are hating and swearing like criminals cooped up in the cages. This has a lot to do with morals. Perverted actions are done. Oddly enough, the officers are dumb and numb about this and do not put a stop to it.

There is talk of sending us north where the Nationalists and Communists are fighting. If we go to war with our brothers what are we to gain? We must all get together. We have now stepped on the threshold of the atomic age. We cannot go back to the days of feudalism. The world is marching on every hour and will not wait for us.

JACOB CHANN

Shanghai,
January 7, 1945.

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established in 1917

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Indirect Censorship?

AGAIN this week we must ask the forbearance of our "outport" subscribers since conditions beyond our control at the local postoffice make it almost impossible to get the Review mailed promptly.

Despite the good offices of the Ministry of Information and a verbal promise made to the Review by Mr. Wang Yu-kuang, assistant postmaster in Shanghai, the Review this past week was still banned from the mails.

Some time ago we began to have a little difficulty in mailing the Review to certain points in China. When no satisfactory explanation was forthcoming, we made a trip to the postoffice to see Mr. Wang, who told us that it was all a regrettable mistake and that from now on the Review would be delivered promptly to all places except Canton and Peiping. The exception of the latter two points was made necessary, he said, because of the shortage of planes.

For the next few weeks we had little trouble, with only occasional bunches of Reviews being returned to us. However, this happy state soon ended and the old trouble began again. One week Reviews for Kunming would be refused; the next week Reviews for Tientsin were refused. Then about two weeks ago the postoffice officially informed us that henceforth we would have to send all Reviews by first class mail, except those destined for Chungking, which strangely, is today the only place in China outside of Shanghai where we are allowed to do business. Despite the fact that this entailed a postage rate hike of from CNC$14 to CNC$50, we have been mailing our copies via first class air mail.

However, a few days ago the postoffice told us that henceforth we would not be allowed to mail the Review in any manner whatsoever to any point outside of Shanghai except Chungking.

So today we find it somewhat difficult to make delivery to our subscribers. We trust that they will bear with us until the matter can be settled and regular delivery resumed.

Meanwhile, we are wondering what is behind this move on the part of the Shanghai postoffice. Obviously the excuse that there is no space is invalid. An individual can mail any number of personal packages to any point in China providing he knows the right people and is prepared to pay a charge somewhat higher than the regular postal rate. We are prepared to pay whatever is necessary—witness our paying during the last few weeks of $50 a piece for our 400 readers in Kunming. Apparently the matter goes deeper than mere "squeeze." We may be pardoned, it seems, if the nasty idea of indirect censorship comes to mind.

After deciding that for the moment we had run into a blind alley at the postoffice, we appealed to China National Aviation Corporation. However, they too, refused us, saying that they had not enough space for even one Review. The fact that they can haul huge boxes of cigarettes to Kunming and fly crabs to Chungking, but are unable to carry a few copies of the Review makes nice speculation.

Now then, it is perfectly obvious that the shortage of transport is only a minor point, since both the postoffice and CNAC can deliver any quantity and type of luxury items to any point in China. Although we are entitled to a legal newspaper mailing rate—a rate, incidentally, which our competitors enjoy—we are willing to mail at *any* rate so long as we can get our magazine delivered. Perhaps we are prejudiced, but it seems to us that a journal of public information should certainly have priority over cigarettes and crabs.

Mr. Hsu Hsiao-yen, vice-minister of Information, and officials of the ministry's local office, have all promised us their aid and given us their assurance that this matter can be settled quickly. Meanwhile, until it can be determined who is behind this attempt to cut off the Review's circulation and why it is being done, we must ask our subscribers in the interior to bear with us. Your Review may be late and you may miss an issue or two, but eventually we'll get them to you and, we hope, without too much delay.

China's Export Trade

IN a recent interview the head of the Foreign Department of the Bank of China stated that there were two chief impediments to large scale exports from China. These impediments he listed as firstly, lack of standardization of China's products, and secondly, the question of business integrity.

This, we believe, is hitting the head of China's financial nail. Chinese merchants as a whole do not appreciate the importance of standardization. In so far as this is a hindrance on the domestic market, the damage is not irreparable. But as regards the foreign market, the lack of standardization is a distinct calamity. To point out but a single instance, prior to the war, Chinese tea merchants exported no less than fifty-odd brands of tea. Instead of forming an exporter's union, the Chinese tea merchants preferred to wage a cut-throat competition on the foreign market. Two tins of the same brand of Chinese tea purchasable in the United States or Europe might vary so greatly that one might assume that they were made by different producers, rather than by a single corporation.

Little incidents of the above nature, duplicated in many fields, only lead to lack of confidence on the part of foreign buyers in respect to Chinese products. Buyer confidence is the basis for all sales, whether those sales be confined to a box of matches or a thousand tons of tung oil. Until that confidence has been built up there can be but slight prospects of re-opening trade on a large scale. Foreign importers know what they want. It is now up to China's exporters to show that they understand what is demanded of them, and deliver the goods.

The brings up the question of business integrity. In doing business it must always be assumed by each party that the other is no less an astute business man. It is equally wrong to assume that in either honesty or dishonesty the prospective business contact exceeds the first party. And that primarily has been the fault of many Chinese businessmen in the past. Confidence in the foreign buyer has run the gamut from over-confidence to over-pessimism. Neither engenders a healthy business relationship. The Chinese exporter must be absolutely even-minded on that count. He must not imagine that he alone is the expert in his particular line and that "anything will get by." That is the greatest fallacy there can be in foreign trade. Instead of sending products inferior to the sample submitted for inspection, the exporter should constantly strive to send a better product, if possible, at the original quotation. The result always justifies the added outlay.

And if we might add a comment it would be this. In a world of fast shrinking distances, it is imperative that the primary consideration of all exporters should be speed. To put off a thing until tomorrow may result in a foreign rival booking the order. As often as not the entire prospects of a business deal hinge on the ability of the exporter to supply the product required in the shortest period of time. That concept of promptitude and service is sometimes all too evidently lacking in Chinese export firms. And yet that is the very quality which foreign buyers view as most vital. Until this malady has been corrected, Chinese merchants should not be startled when they discover that an order which was intended for them has gone to a firm in Hongkong or India. Speed is the essence of all trade.

And further, the question of quotations is another sore point with importers of Chinese products. All too often an order is booked by a firm from abroad only to result in a change of quotations on the following day. This nefarious practice undermines all confidence on the part of the foreign buyer. True, economic conditions in China are unstable. But the foreign merchant is not, nor can he be expected to be, interested in conditions prevailing in this country. His primary concern is to purchase goods at a specific price. While he will allow a certain degree of bargaining, he will be absolutely opposed to frequent changes of quotations. In his eyes this would amount to working with firms that specialized in mis-quotations.

Thus for the future of China's export trade three things are vitally necessary. They are standardization, integrity and speed. Unless, and until, Chinese exporters can appreciate the importance of each, the prospects for large exports are still in the realms of unreality. In a changing world, only those who change can progress with the times. It is now up to the Chinese exporters to change their age-old practices and get in step with the times.

The Civil Service

THE sad plight of Shanghai's civil service workers was highlighted this past week by two appeals for aid: one from the customs staff and the other from local teachers.

In the case of the customs employees, several grievances were aired. Workers complained of low salaries, of being demoted two grades because they stayed in Shanghai during the war, and of the great differential between wages paid Chinese and foreign staff members. Mr. L. K. Little, inspector general of customs, promised the workers that he would do his utmost to persuade the National Government to raise salaries.

A similar situation exists in the case of teachers in Shanghai's municipal schools, where salaries range from CNC$1500 to CNC$30,000 per month. Voicing their dissatisfaction, some 2000 school teachers last week outlined their problems at a reception for Mr. Y. S. Ku, commissioner of the Bureau of Education. Mr. Ku, like Mr. Little, expressed his personal regret and promised to take the matter up with the government.

The list of government employees who presently are paid salaries way below subsistence levels is nearly endless. It includes Shanghai's postal employees, the municipal police, employees of the City Government, and many other groups.

Now then, it must be obvious to all that this situation cannot go on. How can anyone live in Shanghai today on a monthly salary of CN$1500? Indeed it would be impossible to live on $1500 per week!

With Shanghai's civil servants so grossly underpaid, it is no wonder that today the city is rampant with "squeeze" and "cumshaw" practices and all the other age-old forms of corruption. It is simple logic that if a man's salary is insufficient, then he necessarily must supplement his regular income in some other manner. The conclusion logically follows that in the case of most civil service employees such "supplementary income" is derived from extra-legal activities in which they are enabled to engage by virtue of their positions.

Another charge made by local civil employees is worth noting. They are, they say, treated much as if they were puppets. They are penalized because they stayed behind. This attitude toward local residents is often demonstrated by newly-arrived officials from the interior. Clearly, all Chinese who stayed in Occupied China cannot be classed as puppets and collaborators. Many were unable to migrate to Free China. Some, including the customs employees, were specifically asked by the government to remain and keep the service going. Why then should these people be penalized?

It seems to us that there are a few pertinent points which should be made at this time.

First, China will ruin her heretofore well-functioning services, such as the customs and postal systems, if the employees are not adequately paid. Unless more attention is paid to salaries than to idle talk about who is a patriot and who isn't, the civil service functions in the liberated areas will soon degenerate to the generally low level prevailing throughout the war in the "interior."

Second, Chungking should use the criteria of *ability* rather than patriotism and party loyalty alone in selecting officials to be sent into liberated areas. Naturally, puppets should not be employed, but a man cannot be considered *de facto* a puppet because he did not make the long trek to the interior.

Third, it is high time that newly-arrived appointees from the West ceased acting like members of an exclusive club, attributing to themselves undeserved virtues and merits merely because they had the opportunity to migrate to the West during the war.

Fourth, The government must realize that cities the size of Shanghai, Canton and Nanking are complex affairs and that if certain jobs are not performed effeciently and honestly the welfare of the people is affected. If the electricity failed to function in Chungking or Kunming, everyone shrugged his shoulders and said it couldn't be helped and all reminded each other that after all they were living in the remote fastness of China and that a "war was on." However, it is a different story in the major cities of the coast. If Shanghai's light and water and sewege systems fail to work, a direct and great hardship is imposed upon the population. Can one visualize coolies carrying water to all of Shanghai's several odd million people, such as was often the case in Chungking when the pumps failed?

The problem of China's civil service employees is of the utmost importance. The public welfare demands that intelligent and speedy action be taken.

Welfare Committee

LAST week local papers received a statement from Madame Sun Yat-sen announcing the continuance of relief and rehabilitation work by the old China Defense League—now re-named the China Welfare Fund Committee.

Madame Sun made a clear statement of the Committee's plans, as well as the work previously carried out by the old League. As Madame Sun pointed out, peace has returned, but China is still in desperate need of aid. Present political and military problems make it impossible for the government to cope adequately with the situation. Even the work of the international relief organizations must be supplemented.

Certainly this is a worthy cause the League represents. Certainly the task is great. We can but urge our readers—both Chinese and foreign—to give Madame Sun and the China Welfare Fund Committee their utmost support.

Marshall Successful In First Objective

TODAY, three weeks after his arrival in China, it is apparent that General George C. Marshal has accomplished his first big objective as President Truman's special envoy—that of bringing together on a common meeting ground the Chinese Nationalist and Communist factions.

Whether he will be able to carry out the remainder of Truman's directive—a cessation of hostilities and a broadening of the base of the Central Government—is still to be seen. But there is no doubt that Marshall, in his first three weeks in China, has accomplished more than the combined efforts of former ambassadors Clarence E. Gauss and Patrick J. Hurley were able to effect in the preceding three years.

It is apparent, also, that Marshall's first success penetrates deeper into the Chinese national and sociological roots than the surface indications would lead one to believe. He has brought home to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the whole National Government hierarchy—as forcefully as one man could—the realization that China has definite obligations to both the Chinese people and the other United Nations which must be fulfilled if China is to hope for either material assistance or moral support from those nations.

In a world that grows smaller by the day, where the atomic bomb, borne great distances by giant planes, can wipe out vast areas and thousands of people in a split second, there can be no excuse for piddling intra-party political maneuvering at the expense of millions of people. And this, more than anything else, seems to be what Marshall has brought to the realization and consciousness of the Central Government. If Marshall were to do nothing more, this one accomplishment alone would be enough to justify his stay here.

But perhaps Marshall can go further. Perhaps he can convince the Central Government that the United States, together with the other Allied nations, is desirous of helping China's recovery to the best of her ability, if only China will let her. Perhaps he can really bring about a cessation of hostilities and a more democratic government. Truman already has promised the fullest possible aid, with loans, long-term credits and engineering and technical assistance, if the Chinese could make a first move toward helping themselves by facing some fundamental facts.

There are indications that this last may not be too far away. Recent reports that the restrictive foreign company law is about to be drastically modified or abolished entirely would lend substance to this belief. Lieutenant General A.C. Wedemeyer is making preparations for the airlift of Nationalist troops into Manchuria, and U.S. naval forces will shortly supplement this movement to re-establish Chinese sovereignty in former Japanese-occupied territory. And reports from North China indicate that U.S. marine forces are stationed in that area primarily to counter any possible Communist movements, rather than the often-avowed purpose of expediting the Japanese repatriation.

Certainly the U.S. would not have committed her forces and equipment to such an extent without having exacted from Chiang some definite commitment as to his future plans and purposes. With the return to Chinese soil of Major General Claire L. Chennault, and the imminent arrival of U.S. War Secretary Robert P. Patterson, the United States is now embarked on a program of all-out assistance to China's recovery. It should be pointed out, however, that this is a far cry from the blank-check policy of Hurley, which gave everything while asking nothing in return.

So far the only assistance that has been forthcoming has been purely military, since Chinese sovereignty must be re-established over Chinese territory before any move can be made toward economic assistance. Whether the State Department, the Export-Import Bank and other political and financial institutions agree with the War Department that China is now worthy of the kindliest consideration remains to be seen. Judging by events that have already taken place, however, it is more than likely that they will, as soon as the military situation is stabilized.

Should the forthcoming unity talks in Chungking show the slightest indication of bearing fruit, there is no doubt but that the United States will lend every encouragement. The first move in this direction will probably be the reported US$20,000,000 credit for the purchase of cotton, and it is certain that other assistance will follow in short order if a coalition government is really established.

Thus, it is proven once again that relations between nations indeed operate like a two-way street. China could not have hoped to continue for long the internal bickering, suppression of civil liberties and repression of political and economic activity as if she were in a separate world far out in the solar system. It is indeed, as China's good friend Wendell Willkie stated, one world, and disunity in China means disunity throughout the globe. China, face to face at last with her responsibilities and capabilities, will get out of the world only what she puts into it, plus the world's best wishes and a pat on the shoulder.

It is more than likely that Marshall's first accomplishment was brought about only after some pretty plain talking. He has never been one to beat around the bush, as was indicated by his testimony before the Pearl Harbor Investigating Committee just before he left for China. But Chiang also is a man who is used to facing the facts. It is unfortunate that there was not some dramatist present who could record the reactions which these two men—both strong-willed and firm of purpose—must have made upon each other at their first meetings. Judging by subsequent events, it was Marshall's will which finally prevailed, and that was as it should be, since he had on his side such things as tolerance freedom of expression, good-will and the ability to give and take which seem to be fundamental parts of democracy.

One could be trite and say at this point that this is merely another demonstration of the victory of liberty over repression, but this would not be strictly correct. A more exact analysis would be that China is only now going through what America went through 170 years ago. Perhaps, in the year 2116, China will be what America is today. At any rate, we are living in 1946 and not 2116, and we must face the facts as they come up and meet us, else we are lost.

Certainly a good beginning has been made. Whether Marshall can continue to carry the ball, or whether he will be forced to pass it on to someone else, is something that only time will tell. Thus far Marshall has shown no fear of facing the facts; if others do the same, all may yet be well. If not, then the world's greatest tragedy is about to unfold.

War-Time Conditions Prevail In Tientsin

TIENTSIN, well-known North China city, has not yet overcome transition difficulties arising out of the Japanese surrender. High prices, confused economic conditions, and the absence of the much-desired Allied Claims Commission are the main points of complaint of Tientsin residents.

When the first news of Japan's surrender arrived, many Japanese merchants started unloading operations in the hope to be able to return with the proceeds to Japan. This led to a transitory lowering of prices, which soon came to a halt, however, when the Japanese learned that they had to leave behind most of their property.

In addition to these difficulties communications have been disrupted by Communist troops, so that wartime scarcities continue unabated.

Planners For The New World Face Numerous Difficulties

By WALTER H. WIENER, LL.D.

SCANNING through contemporary literature on planning, the trade cycle, credit control and related problems, one cannot help feeling a widespread uncertainty as to fundamental concepts. It is the same uncertainty, by the way, one feels when reading modern books on natural sciences in general and physics in particular. Everywhere there is a striking neglect to be found of epistemological fundamental notions.

Searching analysis has repeatedly thrown light on these failures and especially new developments in logic, such as positivistic logic, semantics and similar efforts of cleansing intellectual Augean stables were conducive to this end.

Regarding problems of planning in particular, one should stress the fact that planning involves a certain attitude towards social sciences, an attitude by the way which is seldom if ever realized.

Most people think that society is a tabula rasa on which every planning board, given sufficient political power, can inscribe whatever doctrine or ideology it has adopted. This means, however, that the much deeper-lying problem of social change is completely neglected.

As opposed to this naive attitude a few pertinent statements should prove helpful. First of all, society with its vast mass of customs, folkways, institutions, ideologies and technical achievements is subject to change. At this very point the grave question arises of scientific interpretation of this process. The causal approach or, better perhaps, the statistical approach via correlations having achieved outstanding success in the field of natural sciences is easily taken to be the only possible scientific method describing routines of our perceptions.

As long as attention has remained centered upon the inorganic world, the progress of science has been unequivocal, although the epistemological naivete of physicists has often resulted in a childish belief in the real existence of some of the mental short hand signs human ingenuity has been able to create. Such notions as time, mass, electron, proton and so forth were taken to be realities existing in the "outside" world.

The first severe shock to this conviction was administered by the strange findings of biology. This science describes phenomena, tangible phenomena at that, which are unfit to be totally explained by the concepts developed in the natural sciences. Living organisms are constantly trying to manifest a "whole" to be maintained despite changing surroundings. A certain measure of independence, therefore, seems to exist of physical conditions although the latter have a great influence upon the behavior of organisms. At the same time, however, there exists a subtle interplay between the organic aims and the physical happenings to such an extent that all changes within an organism display an orderly concatenation of physical and chemical events.

Conscious behavior displays a similar manifestation of wholeness stretching forth in space as well as in time, as Haldane has pointed out. Societies being vast agglomerations of conscious beings also manifest phenomena showing the existence of social aims, values, or super-personal forces intimately interacting with inorganic, biological and psychological events.

Returning to our starting point, we easily see that the happenings in the inorganic world, obeying as they do simple patterns of concatenation, give a very wide scope to human actions. Man is free to change the outside world if he employs the formula that he found to be valid for inorganic events.

The same possibility seems to exist with regard to social phenomena. Find the formula of social change and you can alter the pattern of social phenomena. At this point, however, difficulties arise and up till the present time it has been impossible to find such formulae. This question leads one further than mere philosophizing about the good life, the good society, social values and so forth. Far from reality, of course, one is free to think about all kinds of social systems one would like to see realized. As soon, however, as one deals with social, pulsing reality, one has to admit the futility of all such attempts.

Let us pause for a moment to consider the position of a biologist when he wants to prescribe a special behavior to an organism. Obviously, the organism will continue to behave according to its inherent laws of behavior and reaction. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that human societies also manifest such tendencies and forces despite philosophical or theological deprecations. If, for instance, in the early Middle Ages a social philosopher had advanced the idea of the liberal state with a modern parliament he would most probably have ended on the pyre.

But there is often a strange correspondence to be seen between the ideas of an age and its possibilities. It seems as if certain ideas as to the "oughts" of society can only ripen at certain favorable times, similar perhaps to the fact that an organism displays certain urges at a point in his development when the actual condition of its physique enables it to achieve the various ends it feels the urge to strive for.

Now, let it be understood that society is not a closely-knit organism. Let it further be admitted that all superficial comparisons between organic organs and societal functions have only value if they are understood as interesting metaphores. But there is no gain saying the fact that societies being vast multitudes of conscious human beings display, more or less articulate, social forces which cannot be explained as simple sums of individual stimuli. In this respect mass psychology has pointed out various interesting facts deserving the closest attention of all planners and would-be-dispensors of social programs.

The just mentioned problems are intimately connected with the so-called philosophy of history, a difficult discipline which has been looking out for convenient formulae of historical events for a long time. Possibly, the apparent freedom of politicians and "leaders" is very limited. Most likely, society as a whole is groping by a process of trial and error for the best way of meeting new situations. Those men who possess historical sense will assist society in its travail, whereas untrained social midwives will cause misery and bloodshed for long periods.

For a considerable time now planning has been in the air and again mankind has been experimenting with all kinds of solutions. Obviously here open up new horizons for all those economists, social philosophers, and sociologists who earnestly try to solve these problems by close attention to social reality as it appears in its economic, technical or psychological aspects.

Let it be understood, however, that mere juggling with words, mere acrobatic feats based on abstract nouns are not the desired prerequisites in this field. All usage of "isms", therefore—a delightful game played in many books and lecture rooms—is totally inadequate for these purposes. "Communism will conquer the world," "Capitalism will come into its own again," one hears often declaimed with great emphasis. One may talk, however, like that till the cows come home without any results because the mere juxta-position of symbols cannot reveal characteristics of reality.

If you look at the outside world, there are no communists or capitalists or any other "ists" but only men with a lot of appetites desires, ideas, urges, conscious or otherwise, imbedded in special social surroundings, constantly changing in their correlation to one another, constantly striving for the materialization of changing ideals and superstitions, and constantly striving to convince one another of the unimpeachable validity of their respective interpretations of their highly complex and integrated social world.

Admittedly the usage of abstracts has its merits. It is useful to visualize a demand curve or a "market" or other simplifications invented by the human brain. But so-called economic laws are only

Naval Officer Re-Visits Okinawa-Isle Of Graves

By LT. JOSEPH P. LYFORD, USNR

OKINAWA JIMA—One of the United States' many Pacific "ghost towns" is the island of Okinawa Jima. Only a few months ago thousands of American soldiers and sailors and more than a hundred thousand Japanese died here in a struggle that stands as the bloodiest and most decisive island campaign in the history of the war against Japan.

Today as the season moves into winter, the days are clear and fair, much like a brisk New England fall afternoon. The sun is bright, but no longer burns with the blood thinning heat that sapped the strength of the invasion armies last summer. The dust and mud have been brought under control. Campsites are neatly laid out, with proper drainage, and baseball fields and large movie theaters are in abundance.

A D-day "old settler", returning to the island for the first time since the Japanese capitulation, feels a bit like Rip Van Winkle. Nowhere can he find a veteran of the early invasion days. Most of the personnel is composed of low-point youngsters a few months out of the States.

Most of the Yanks have gone home. Those who remain are only biding their time until their ship comes over the horizon to take them back. The wartime hustle of hundreds of thousands of men has reduced itself on this verdant island to an easy-going maintenance and "roll up" routine.

The northern half of the island, from Bolo Point on up, scene of the Sixth Marines' early battles, has been "given back to the Indians". The Okinawans are busily converting the land back to cultivation, and are reconstructing homes from the debris of former ones. Along the roads to Nago Wan on the western side, and to Kin and Gushi on the eastern side, the natives trudge in long lines, loaded down with their household belongings.

"Off Limits" signs are posted prominently and frequently along the roadsides, barring the regions to military personnel. Marine sentries are on hand to enforce the warnings. Okinawan urchins carrying head-loads turn as a jeep passes them by and yell "chow", or "halloo". They are clad at least partially in Government issued khakis. Some wear the dungarees of a generous sailor. The white hat of the Navy is worn as jauntily as it is by a liberty-bound bluejacket.

Abandoned camps of Seabee Battalions, Army construction regiments, Air Corps outfits, Marine battalions, amphibious outfits, tank and alligator groups, meet the eye along every road, from Yontan Airfield, to Chimu Wan, and from Sobe to Nago Wan. On the road to Kuba Saki, the famous "Brown Beach" which handled so much of the unloading at Buckner Bay, is the "ghost camp" of the 71st Seabees. Hundreds of deserted pyramidal tents, set up in geometric pattern, flap listlessly. Down the way a quarter of a mile is the town of a Naval Construction Regiment. They don't live there any more.

The illusion of departure is heightened everywhere one looks. Okinawa is rapidly receding into the comparative obscurity from whence she emerged to capture international headlines. With the passage of each day, it becomes harder to imagine that once her wooded hills, and terraced slopes echoed for more than two months with the greatest combined land, sea, and air bombardment of Pacific history.

The signs of war, though partly obscured are still there. The roads have been improved and straightened, but along the old beds lies a medium tank embraced in its own twisted tracks, bearing the title "Battling Blondie." Its turret has been sheared in half by an 88 millimeter shell. In a sugar-cane field is a red and white sign: 'Keep out —Mines". And despite the tremendous sweeping up job that the Seabee and Army bulldozers and graders have done on the ruined island towns, heaps of wattle and broken clay along the main highways mark the graves of Yofuke, Chuda, Shimobaru, and scores of other country villages.

It is easier to understand now what the geographers meant when they described Okinawa as an island of rare natural beauty. Commodore Perry almost a hundred years ago remarked on the luxuriant vegetation, the interesting topography and many other attractive aspects of the island. With the war behind him, the soldier can see Okinawa for the first time as something more than a bloody battleground where his comrades died and where he burrowed for weeks in mud, water, and dirt.

The mountains, especially in the northern part of the isle, are blue and peaceful. Their silence is accentuated in the mind of the men who saw them when their flanks were spotted with shell bursts and their ridges under attack by swarms of Dauntless dive bombers. The trees on the slopes no longer conceal Japanese gun positions and caves.

The harbor of Nago Wan, once crammed with shipping, and scene of busy cargo operations, is empty. The ration dumps at Chuda Beach, a few miles down, have long since been exhausted and erased. The town of Nago, capital city of the Northern province, has been obliterated first by shelling and then by bulldozers, except for a few scattered buildings. Notable survivors are the village school, now housing a motor pool; the municipal building which was used by the Marines as an evacuation hospital; and a Japanese doctor's home, which was headquarters for a medical battalion.

On the Southern end of the island, the main city of Naha, costliest battleground of the campaign, lies in complete ruins—a low, wide valley filled with the bones of a city of 60,000. A single standing wall is hard to find. Much of the rubble has been cleared away here also, in accordance with the sanitation engineering projects of the "sweep up" battalions. In the river the small landing craft are tied up to the wharves in long rows. Their "unloading contracts" expired many weeks ago.

At Yellow Beach Three a few tank landing craft rest on the beach. Some of the crew men are at work about the decks. The Bishagawa River which empties into the ocean at Yellow Three, is fringed with small boats and pontoon barges tied up side by side along its banks. From the whitewashed signal tower on the south bank, the view of the ocean is all-embracing. A lone LST is beached a mile to the South. The white combers form a striking contrast to the brilliant rust on the LST's ramp and the blue the ocean.

On Yellow and Green beaches the old landmarks that were so indispensable to the operation are gone. The wooden blinker light tower at Blue Beach, the pontoon causeways and the beachmaster's flimsy shacks have been dismembered and hauled away. To use the old timer's phrase, things aren't what they used to be.

Evidences of the Navy's greatest disaster at Okinawa, resulting from natural causes, are many and striking at Buckner Bay. This port is choked with the broken hulls of ships of all sizes and descriptions which were lost in the September typhoons. Giant cargo vessels lie marooned on the beach alongside chip-sized patrol craft, most of them beyond hope of salvage. The ships, sprawled in grotesque positions, lie "uncoffined just as found".

For ships and men, Okinawa is the "Isle of Graves". The hills that rise from its beaches have for centuries been studded with the womb-shaped granite tombs in which repose the bones of many generations of the islanders. Although death was their reason for being, these monuments during the invasion saved the lives of many hard-pressed doughboys and Marines, who used them as air raid shelters in extreme emergency. At

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hypothetical patterns of behavior. "Economic man" has long since abandoned thinking about his own welfare. The modern world baffles all such attempts, let alone the fact that the word welfare alone poses intricate problems ranging from theology via philosophy to physiology.

Nuremberg Trial Explodes Old Myth of Sovereignty

By ERNEST D. STRAUSS, LLD.

HARDLY ever in the history of mankind have criminal proceedings aroused a like amount of public interest as the Nuremberg trial. Everybody felt that when Germany surrendered unconditionally, when its capital was taken and its country occupied, when its once invincible army was led away into captivity, that one of the most nightmarish episodes in human history has not really come to an end, but that only now, when the paragons of Nazism are being brought to trial by alien judges on German soil and on the very spot of the yearly Nazi pageant, is the climax reached.

Prior to this epoch-making event, some cases of a similar nature have been transacted, the Luneburg, Dachau, and Wiesbaden trials. Though at any other time every one of them would have been a world sensation in its own right, now by comparison they appear to have served as mere curtain-raisers. Now the real drama sets in.

For all the publicity given to this event, however, is is safe to say that there are no more than a handful of people who grasp its real meaning. The presiding judge, Lord Justice Lawrence, has termed it a trial without precedent. This is an understatement. As a matter of fact, it is nothing less than a wholesale departure from all our long-held conceptions of international law, with a revolutionary application of accepted principles of criminal responsibilty.

This new development in the field of human relationships seems to be no less revolutionary than the atomic bomb is in the province of physics, and it remains still to be seen which of the two innovations will prove more fraught with consequences for future developments.

On the first day, the defense spoke up, challenging, as any free defense worthy of this name would, the competence of the court, terming it a tribunal imposed by the victors over the vanquished, and objecting on the grounds that the defendants were charged with offenses declared criminal only after the act.

This, they argued, was the very way in which Nazi jurisdiction had acted, and which had earned them the contempt of the world, and it was inadmissible, after victory won, to employ the same principles one had set out to destroy. And there are quite a few people—people not at all suspect of being Nazi sympathizers—who assert that the defense is quite right. They would have understood, so they said, if these people would have been dealt with summarily, and been shot on the spot, but making it a legal procedure was out of the question.

As a matter of fact, the defending counsels said too little rather than too much. They might have added that their clients were being charged on counts that even now are not listed in the criminal codes of any of the prosecuting counsels' own countries, and that even against these unorthodox charges, they were able to set up pleas which would be enough, under the same codes, to defeat any charge of a criminal offense, however well legally and factually founded.

For the curious position about this remarkable trial is that the defense is dead right in the name of every accepted notion of legal procedure, but that the prosecution is right in the name of a bigger principle, old as the hills, that has fallen into disuse for a comparatively short period of human civilisation and has come now into its own again.

In this trial, a party, hitherto having had no legal standing, has come out of the clouds, and has boldly entered the courtroom and taken its place behind the prosecuting counsels, prompting their every word: *Humanity*.

Humanity Fights Sovereignty

If you look at the counts of the bill of indictment, you will find charges most surprising to every practising lawyer: Conspiracy to wage war, Acts against the peace, War crimes, Crimes against humanity. Now peace, decency towards enemies and respect for human rights are only other aspects of humanity.

But humanity to date has been a legal non-entity. It was a figure of speech, with no mouth to speak and no hands to act. The pyramid of human society culminated in the individual states. There was some sort of collaboration but no common superstructure.

We are inclined to take this state of things as granted and inherent in the nature of human relationships. But it was not always so in the course of history. During the vast space of time called the middle-ages, or to be more specific, from the 6th to about the end of the 14th centuries, a quite different conception prevailed.

During this time, the Roman Catholic Church was generally recognized as being the representative of divine power on earth, and as such, superior to any human authority. By virtue of this position, it was accepted as the legitimate mouthpiece of humanity in the double sense of the word, as mankind and as the principle of acting humanely, that is, in comformity to ethical standards. A special legal theory had been set up to support this conception. By the side of the prevailing worldly law, the existence of a *jus divinum*, or divine law, was generally accepted, and the validity of every act of worldly judges ceased, if it came up against this superior set of rules.

To be sure, the contents of this divine right were rather hazy, and the scope of its application often hard to define, but it was enough to prevent the worst abuses of an otherwise unlimited power.

With the advent of the modern national state, brought about by the unification of the most progressive western peoples into one national body, this principle was abandoned, first in practice and very soon in theory. The notion of a divine law was for some time still given a respectiful bow, but it was divested from all practical meaning.

Instead, Hugo Grotius and his followers worked out the *jus gentium*, or international law. The conception of an all-embracing body of mankind came to an end, and was superseded by the comity of nations. The underlying principle of this formless line-up of civilized peoples is the formal equality, independence, and absolute sovereignty of its members. This has been the guiding idea of interstate relations up to our day.

Sovereignty Shields Crimes

Again, there will be very few outside the professional circles to realize what sovereignty really means. Externally, it means complete freedom for every state to determine its political ends and the ways it sees fit to accomplish them. All countries are of course expected to act according to certain established standards of behavior.

But when they fail to do so, or even act contrary to every sense of decency, there is no one to call them to account. The sole yardstick to gauge their merits is the extent of their success. Acts that would be termed as common crimes if perpetrated by individuals, such as cheating, robbing, armed violence are, if done by a state, just good policy or poor, as the case may be. When they miscarry, the people of the guilty country will of course suffer, but no one would think of making the head oof state personally responsible. For the sovereignty of the state is represented in his person, in fact he *is* the sovereign state, and for this reason as unviolable as the state itself. He might, in theory, be called to account by his own people, and at times it has been done, but he is secure from all outside interference.

As to violence in particular, the right of the sovereign state to wage wars has never been seriously contested. The state of war is a recognized form of relationship between the peoples, and all that international law could do on this score was to try to impose some rules as to the way wars should be conducted.

The Kellogg Pact, aiming at outlawing war, was a mere theoretical declaration without sanctions, and it is very significant that even now when the structure of sovereignty seems to be somewhat crumbling, all endeavors are directed towards making wars impossible by setting up an overwhelming international force against aggressors, but not towards outlawing them.

In internal affairs, the principle of sovereignty has equally far-reaching consequences. Again, the state is supposed to promote the well-being of its subjects, but it is the sole judge of what it thinks contributive to this end. Independent countries might rob their subjects, imprison them, injure and kill them at will, they might even go so far as to deprive whole classes of the population of their inborn right of citizenship and drive them across their frontiers. There is nobody in the outside world who would or could interfere, and no one to whom they could appeal.

For the management of internal affairs, however, two other figures came in who were contributive in forming the modern state and without whom he could not cary on one single day: the civil servant and the officer. Only when the civil servant came into being, the sovereign state became possible. His allegiance goes to the state and to the state alone.

On the other hand, the state backs him up with the full weight of its authority. It was an accepted proposition that no civil servant or officer could ever be held responsible for his doings, however inhuman, as long as he had acted on the directives of his superiors. There were in some countries regulations providing for the responsibility of civil

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other times, the tombs were left generally unmolested by the order of island authorities.

"Isle of Graves" has another meaning for many thousands of American families who will not see their sons again. Each of the Army and Marine Corps Divisions which participated in the campaign has its own broad plot of ground where its fallen lie buried. An American flag flies over the bright white crosses crowded together in these patches of foreign soil. The Commander in Chief of the 10th Army and a private share the same resting place. These cemeteries are the quietest spots on a silent island.

The isle is reverting to its own true nature. It has seen the tide of conquest sweep over it, and then recede. And, like the passengers talking to the conductor in Carl Sandburg's poem, in a few years a visitor to this bloody ground may ask :"What place is this?" The grass has already begun to work.

servants in case they overstepped their official power. Even this has always been rather hard to put into effect. But going beyond that would have shaken the very foundations of the state's life. The position was, to put it into a nutshell: The chiefs of state and the governments are shielded by their sovereignty, and every civil servant is shielded by them.

As time went on, this conception, far from wearing thin, became more and more accentuated. It is noteworthy that it was not so much the big-wigs, the princes and governments who stood most to gain by it, but the common people, the men in the street, who watched jealously over the sovereignty of their country, resented any outside interference as a personal slight and were willing to die for its preservation. Dissatisfied though they might be with their leaders, any outside attempt at their removal was enough to rally them to their defense.

Sovereignty Defies Attacks

All endeavors aiming at a curtailment of sovereignty have so far ended in failure. Napoleon, though to a world inured to Nazi methods he may appear as a kid-gloved gentleman, was considered by his own less hardened century as war criminal No. 1 and was exiled. But this was a security measure of an administrative character, and no one ever thought of subjecting him to a trial.

Later, the Holy Alliance tried for some time to impose on the minor nations its, incidentally, very reactionary principles. It proved a complete failure. After the last war there was some shouting about "hang the Kaiser," but it quickly died down. It took the revolting atrocities of the Nazi system, their trampling under foot of every hallowed tenet of civilization, the maniacal acts of a gang of criminals come to power over a big people, to awaken the world to the terrible danger it had run into by the boundless adoration of sovereignty.

It seemed necessary to show once and for all that the power even of this idol has its limits, and that it is not strong enough to give impunity to what would otherwise be ordinary criminal offenses.

For from the angle of traditional legal theory all the accused would be safe enough. What if Jodl and Keitel conspired against world peace and prepared a war of aggression? They were soldiers and if such was the policy of the Reich government, it was their duty to see to the technical side as effectually as possible.

And if Schacht used the money of other nations entrusted to Reich institutions to finance the war against these same nations, what of it? It was nothing but a clever trick in the best interests of the Reich that to serve he was in duty bound.

Concentration camps? Yes, I suppose there have been some. But how could I, Goering, have known what went on behind their barbed wire enclosures? This was entirely a business of Himmler's who had been put in charge by the proper authority, so how could I have meddled? So every one of them has his defense ready. But take the shield of sovereignty away and you see them for what they really are.

New Principle Emerges

For the prominent jurisconsults sitting in the bench or acting as prosecuting counsels, the cream of the legal profession of two continents, it was certainly no easy thing to lend their hand to destroy what only yesterday was considered a basic and immutable tenet of international law.

It must have cost them a terrific inner struggle and they certainly did not lightheartedly decide to assume so tremendous a responsibility. These men are above the suspicion of yielding to popular slogans and of serving the ends of common revenge. If they decided as they did, it was because they were satisfied that the old state of affairs had become intolerable and that a precedent had to be set for the application of another and better principle in the interest of mankind.

So in this trial two age-old antagonists meet again, but under a changed key. For if prosecuting counsel Robert Jackson rightly stated that the real accusator behind the prosecutors was humanity, sovereignty as another allegorical person has joined the prisoners in the dock on the charge of aiding and abetting them.

And if these wretched people will be found guilty, a declaration for the reinstatement of an old principle will have been made, and a precedent been set.

The declaration reads: "Humanity stands over sovereignty," and the precedent will never be forgotten.

But it is really only an isolated precedent or is it the commencement of a system? How does it fit in with the over-all picture of contemporary politics? How far does it fall in line with other endeavours likewise aiming at building up a more equitable society? These are questions deserving of a special inquiry.

Suppression Of Magazine Raises Storm Of Protest

By WILLIAM JOHNSTON

REPORTS reaching Shanghai this past week told of increased agitation among newspapers in the interior—both in "Free" and "Liberated" China—for realization of complete freedom to publish any and all news.

The attitude of the newspapers was clear; they demanded complete freedom. However, the attitude of the Central Government was more difficult to analyze, since Chungking apparently was following two contradictory courses. In one instance, the government, on December 23, suppressed the magazine "Liberty Guardian," but on the other hand the Hsin Hua Jih Pao (Communist mouthpiece in Chungking) and other papers were allowed to attack the government at will for its action. Further, during the week Chungking's afternoon edition of the Ta Kung Pao (nominally independent) reported that beginning on January 1, 1946, the Central Government was going to relinquish control of all Kuomintang papers, allowing each paper to sell stock to the public and form companies with limited liabilities. These companies, it was said, would run each paper independently of the rest and would receive no direction from Central authorities.

Regardless of one's views of present government control of the press, it was becoming more and more evident that gradually the Kuomintang and the Central Government were relaxing their heretofore iron grip upon the country's publications. How far this trend would go was anybody's guess. Communist and liberal elements in the capital viewed such moves with suspicion, prophesying that soon the government would find some excuse to reimpose strict control. Other Chungking groups, though, stated that government action was in conformity with the long-promised freedom for the press after the war and saw in recent moves a carrying into action of the Generalissimo's promises to give the people of China the freedoms of press, speech and assembly.

In any event, the editorial controversy over the "Liberty Guardian" was of interest to the public, especially in Chungking where it was published.

The Hsin Hua Jih Pao, raising as much of a stir as it could, gave most complete coverage to the case, reporting on December 26 that the magazine had been banned and bookstores forbidden to sell it in the future. Orders for the suppression were attributed to the Chungking Municipal Kuomintang Headquarters.

The following day the Kuo Min Kung Pao in Chungking reported a meeting of the Publishers Federation and a federation of 27 magazines at which a written protest was drafted. The meeting agreed "that the law of publication, the control exercised over papers, news agencies and magazines, the censorship of mails and telegrams and the institution of registration are all undemocratic and should be abolished with the least possible delay."

Evidencing the new aggressive attitude of Chinese journalists in the interior, Chungking papers on December 28 published five proposals drawn up by a group of 17 magazines. Although these proposals were initiated after the suppression of the Liberty Guardian, they contained no direct reference to the magazine, being rather a set of requests regarding publishing freedom in general.

Point one urged that the People's Political Council should pass resolutions giving the people freedom of speech, press and assembly. Point two recommended that since the Kuomintang had voluntarily announced the end of political tutelage the Chinese Ministry of Information and the Kuomintang should give up their power over publications. Point three dealt with repealing the various regulations promulgated during the war which governed publications, such as registration requirements etc., while the fourth point stated that all publishers in China would be urged not to comply with the registration laws. The last point concerned the American journalists who have been refused visas by the Central Government, with the statement being made that the government action does did not represent the views of the people.

Whatever the reasons for the suppression of the Liberty Guardian were (no government statement regarding the affair has been received in Shanghai), the storm provoked was highly significant in that it showed an increasing awareness and boldness among China's newspapermen. The reaction was indeed healthy and gave indication that China's press may soon take its place alongside the other free and vigorous press groups in the world.

Booklet Outlines Yenan's Foreign Policy Platform

By H. HOCHIN

UNTIL the end of last April when the Chinese Communist Party convened its 7th National Congress at Yenan, only a small portion of the Chinese public knew much about the foreign policy aims of the CP, for it was at this Congress that the official foreign policy of the CP for the first time was proclaimed in a report by Mao Tze-tung. The report, in revised form, was later printed in a booklet entitled "On Coalition Government." A text of this important political document reached Shanghai late in October. Unfortunately, though, it was not circulated publicly, so even today little is known about it. However, regardless of how one feels about the Communist Party or its foreign policy, this statement is of great importance and certainly should be an interesting subject to students of modern Chinese politics, as well as to the "neutral" public.

"On Coalition Government" is composed of five parts. In the fourth part, under the general heading of "The Policy of the Chinese Communist Party," one chapter is devoted to a clear exposition of the CU's present diplomatic policy.

Basic Principles

For handling diplomatic affairs with foreign nations, the CP has drawn up for itself a basic principle which, in Mao's own words, is "to establish and secure with foreign nations an international friendship in order to settle all wartime and post-war problems, such as collaboration in war, peace conferences, trade, investment, etc. on the basis of complete destruction of the Japanese invader, maintenance of world peace, mutual respect of national independence and equality, and mutual improvement of national as well as people's interest and friendship."

For the maintenance of post-war peace between the nations and the construction of a safety organization, Mao declared that the CP is in full agreement with the suggestions made in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and the decisions made at the Crimea meetings. It was because of this full understanding that the CP agreed to send its representative to the San Francisco Conference.

Mao then proceeded to explain the Communist attitude toward the various foreign nations, allied and non-allied.

American and Britain

The Communist Party feels that since America and Britain, especially America, have contributed great efforts to the common fight and since great sympathy and aid have been given China by the governments and peoples of these two nations, China owes these powers a great debt of gratitude.

However, Mao concluded, "we demand that the authorities of our allied nations, especially America and Britain, pay serious attention to the voice of the majority of the Chinese people, and prevent their diplomatic policies being led into channels contrary to the interests and will of the Chinese people. We feel that any foreign authorities who might help Chinese reactionaries in maneuvering against the democratic achievements of the Chinese people would be committing a tremendous mistake."

The U.S.S.R.

Regarding the diplomatic attitude of the CP toward Russia, Mao emphasized the importance of the Soviet Union's entrance into the war against Japan a fortnight before the latter's surrender, calling the campaign "a final decisive blow for victory."

The U.S.S.R., being the first to contribute aid to China during the early stages of the Sino-Japanese War, according to Mao, should and must be a real friend of China. He insisted, therefore, that the Kuomintang must revise entirely its present attitude toward Russia and form with her a real friendship. As for the present Sino-Soviet Pact, Mao said he could not see any important significance to it so long as the present attitude of the KMT government remains unchanged.

Japan

Concerning the CP's diplomatic attitude toward Japan, Mao said: "Although Japan was defeated and forced to surrender, we must make sure the destruction of fascism, militarism and all those political, economic and social causes upon which they stood. In order to do this we must help all the democratic elements among the Japanese people to erect a democratic system for Japan. It will be impossible to lay down a real and lasting peace in the Pacific without such a complete destruction and without the establishment of a truly democratic system of government in Japan."

Colonial States

Mao stressed that universal independence must be given to those states that before the war were colonial dependencies. This, he said, would be in keeping with the principles for which the war was fought. He said:

"We are in accord with the agreement reached at Cairo in which Korea was promised her independence and in which China was charged with helping the people of Korea establish their independence.

"America has already promised independence to the Philippines. We hope that Great Britain also will promise independence to India. An independent, democratic India is not only the demand of the Indian people, but also the demand of world peace.

"We hope that America, Britain, France and Holland will give to the peoples of the South Pacific—Burma, Malaya, French Indo-China, Dutch Indonesia—the right to erect independent, democratic systems of their own."

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City Government Pushes Municipal Improvements

By W. F. CHIEN

THE task of rebuilding Shanghai in the wake of enemy occupation has begun and is proceeding steadily.

Shanghai is the largest city in China and is one of the largest in the world. However, its population of some five millions is mostly segregated in one-tenth of its total area. Hence the difficulties that will have to be overcome in executing this project may be readily appreciated.

Prior to the Japanese surrender, Shanghai had been under the grip of enemy-puppet authorities for the past eight years, during which widespread havoc was wrought to practically all public installations. All roads, wharves, bridges, sea dykes, embankments, parks, etc., were in a dilapidated state while all sewer and drainage pipes were either clogged up or in a sad state of disrepair.

According to a welter of official estimates, there were, at the time when the Bureau of Public Works took over the bogus Bureau of Reconstruction three months ago, more than 240,000 square meteres of road surface needing immediate repair, and at least 15,000 cubic meters of mud to be dredged from creeks and canals so as to safeguard the city from the well-known "summer inundation." In addition, no less than three-fourths of the bridges and all wharves—there are about 80 on both sides of the Whangpoo—required repairing.

The Bureau of Public Works, under Commissioner T. K. Chao, drew up a key-plan for the rebuilding of Shanghai and has thus far pushed the plan step by step towards gradual realization.

At the outset, the Bureau met with initial success when it completed the repairing last October of the five major bridges over Soochow Creek, chief among which are Garden Bridge, Szechuen Road, Honan Road and Chekiang Road Bridges. These bridges, particularly the Honan Road Bridge, were cracked and in danger of imminent collapse.

Another outstanding "legacy" of the eight-year enemy domination in Shanghai was the complete dilapidation of Shanghai's water-front structures, including all Whangpoo wharves and the sea and creek enbankments. In nine out of ten cases, the piers had sustained considerable damage through gradual decay of timber structures and due to neglect.

With the necessary facilities and materials provided by U.S. authorities, the Bureau has completed the repairing of the two N.Y.K. wharves at the mouth of Soochow Creek. These two wharves, being the deepest anchorage piers alongside the Whangpoo, have since been made available to 10-ton trucks to take delivery of cargoes from incoming vessels.

The Tungchang Road Wharf on the Pootung side of the Whangpoo, which is in the process of repair, sustained damage in its under-water structures to a depth of some 60 feet when B-29's raided Shanghai.

The total length of Shanghai's roads is approximately 900 kilometers which is equal to three times the distance from Shanghai to Nanking. Over this vast road surface large crews of workmen have been laboring and up till the end of 1945 a total of 70,000 square meters, or about one-fifth of the road-building scheme, has been completed according to schedule.

To speed up this job, modern engineering equipment, including a grader and concrete mixer, is being used through the courtesy of American authorities. The GI piloted machines have been daily ploughing and grading the suburban thoroughfares in Kiangwan. With the employment of machines, roads are being built five or six times as fast as when only manual labor is used.

Estimating that 70 percent of all buildings here "ought to be condemned", the city planners have visualized almost insurmountable difficulties in ridding the community of these structures.

Public Works inspectors have cracked down on some buildings which have been found to be contravening safety regulations. On the other hand, the Bureau has been pushing its plan to build 3000 houses and to recondition some 500 old ones for the accommodation of the city's poor.

In this connection a large number of small factories manufacturing alcohol, celluloids, chemicals and other inflammable materials were built during the war. To make matters worse, most of these newly-established factories are located in narrow slums and alleyways amid densely-populated residential quarters.

Perhaps the greatest havoc yet caused by the enemy's maladministration was to the city's sewerage system.

While the damaged sewers cause the escape of filth to the surface of the roads, the water pumps, which are out of commission, may allow water to back up and cause a serious inundation, especially in the western districts, where a heavy downpour could in a few minutes transform west Shanghai into the Venice of the Far East.

In addition to the actual physical repairing and reconditioning presently in progress, the city government has technical experts surveying the city as a whole, making recommendations for immediate and future improvements so that Shanghai can be turned into a greater port and a more prosperous and thriving metropolis than ever before.

World Narrowed

In discussing the need for the peoples of the world to get along together, Mao quoted President Roosevelt's "The world has been narrowed," and added that today the American people, who have always seemed so remote to the people of China, have now become intimate neighbors of the Chinese people. Further, the Chinese people from now on will rub shoulders with the rest of the world. Because of their new development in world relationships, it is necessary that the peoples of the world cooperate in constructing a "secure and everlasting peace."

In conslusion Mao said that the realization of the Communist Party's plan for future amicable relations between China and the rest of the world will be "impossible without a real democratic, Coalition government for China."

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Russia Gets Land, China Gets the Bill

ALONG with the restitution of Chinese sovereignity over large areas in the Northeast, the end of the protracted struggle in East Asia brought a number of territorial losses to the Chinese Republic.

Last week China lost the biggest piece of territory in 100 years when the Supreme National Defense Council decided to recognize the independence of Outer Mongolia, voted in a plebiscite held in that area on October 20, 1945.

Two smaller pieces of territory left China's boundaries when the 'Republic of Tannu Tuva" lying along the northern border of independent Outer Mongolia was incorporated into the Soviet Union, and hostilities between the Chinese and the Khazak majority in Sinkiang Province were amicably settled.

Outer Mongolia covers an area of 622,744 square miles with a population of around 850,000. Bounded on the north by Siberia, on the West by Sinkiang, on the South by China proper and on the east by Manchuria, the Republic of Outer Mongolia has long been recognized by the Soviet Union as being under Chinese sovereignity. However, under the Sino-Soviet treaty signed last August, China offered independence to Outer Mongolia in exchange for Soviet support of the Central Government in China's internal strife. The plebiscite held last October was supported by 100 percent of the population and was approved by a representative of the Chinese Government who flew to that area for the occasion.

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THE POST WAR SET-UP
THE REST OF THE WORLD

The existence of the Republic of Outer Mongolia was first recognized by the USSR shortly after the October Revolution and has been under Soviet influence since 1920.

The area now known as the Province of Tuva covers an area of 64,000 square miles and became an "independent People's Republic" following the Russian Revolution in 1917. Most of its 100,000 inhabitants are Tuvinians, a people of Turkish origin, with Russian, Chinese and Mongolian minorities.

This area was under the jurisdiction of China prior to 1914 and was considered part of Outer Mongolia. Since that year, however, Russia took over the protectorate of the whole territory and in 1926 a treaty was signed between the Soviet Union and the "Independent Peoples Republic."

With the incorporation of this area into the Soviet Union the former Republic has become known as "Tuva Province".

An agreement signed at Tihua, Sinkiang Province, between the representatives of the Khazaks and the Chinese Government, headed by Chang Chih-chung, Chief of the political affairs board of the National Military Council, has now given the Khazaks the right to select their own magistrates, to reorganize the Khazak independent army into local militia, and, finally, to use the Khazak language along with the Chinese language.

The agreement terminating the drawn out hostilities was signed in the first days of the new year.

Truman Criticizes Congress' Inaction

SHARPLY criticizing the American congress for its go-slow policy in vital domestic matters, President Truman in a recent speech gave a survey of political problems solved and also a forecast of difficulties lying ahead.

While the foreign policy of the United States was making strides when the congress approved hte Charter of the United Nations, the Bretton Woods Agreement and the UNRRA measures, domestic legislation was seen to lag behind.

The age-old conflict of management and labor has resulted in nationwide strikes, and although the President did all he could to bring about a peaceful atmosphere, legislation touching upon this matter has not been passed, the President remarked. Fact-finding boards were suggested by the President which should delay the outbreak of strikes by 30 days without, however, shackling labor in any way.

Furthermore, legislation regarding unemployment benefits has also failed to produce any tangible results, although the President has been urging the Congress since May of last year to go ahead in this all-important matter.

The President correctly remarked that the unity and cooperation shown by all citizens of the United States could be easily explained by the powerful motive in operation at that time: Defense.

Peace time cooperation, however, should not slacken in order to provide all Americans with the good life which the American nation is able to create, given domestic unity and peace.

The interesting thing about this speech is the great emphasis laid upon humanitarian aspects, and while a few decades ago a labor leader might have talked like that, it is the President of the United States, a "capitalist" country, who is urging his fellow citizens to cooperate. The policy of the United States as regards domestic matters has obviously outgrown the age of pressure groups and lobbyists when fishing in troubled domestic waters

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Tientsin Students Win Concessions From Govt.

By S. E. SHIFRIN

THOUSANDS of Tientsin middle-school students won concessions from the local Commissioner of Education, Huang Tzu-chien, on the last day of 1945 when they staged a mammoth demonstration in the compound of the Educational Bureau of the local municipal government.

The students, who were protesting against Ministry of Education regulations requiring that all former students in Occupied China must pass special government examinations before continuing their studies, secured approval of six demands from Commissioner Huang.

The six-points of the proposal, which Mr. Huang finally signed after considerable debate, were:

1) No government examinations for students.

2) Protection of teachers from unemployment.

3) Protection of students against expulsion from school.

4) Guarantee to the students freedom of speech, publication, assembly and association.

5) No government examinations for teachers.

6) Government acceptance as soon as possible of opinions of tens of thousands of young men and women in relation to the government and democratic spirit.

The demonstration, lasting more than two hours, was a well-organized affairs, directed by student leaders who shouted instructions and slogans to the crowd through megaphones.

When the students began arriving at the intersections of Victoria (now Chung Chen Rd.) and Medows roads, the local population thought it was a gathering to welcome Dr. T. V. Soong. However, with the arrival of the "cheer leaders" and the shouting of slogans, the group began to take form and marched to the office of the Educational Bureau, which is housed in the former Japanese gendermerie headquarters on Victoria Road.

Reaching the courtyard of the bureau, the meeting was repeatedly addressed by student speakers. The slogan-shouting students then demanded to see Mr. Huang, who came out and addressed them from the porch. Evidently his remarks were not acceptable for he was interrupted several times by angry shouts. Finishing his speech, Mr. Huang retired and a student took over the platform. His speech was greeted with cheers and shouts of "pu tsou"—meaning that the students refused to leave until their demands were accepted. While student negotiators went inside to confer with Mr. Huang, the crowd continued to mill about the courtyard and shout slogans.

When Mr. Huang finally signed the proposals as evidence of his agreement, the students moved off to Victoria Park where they reformed in groups according to their schools and marched home.

Thus ended the first post-war student demonstration in Tientsin which lasted two hours and ended with victory for the students. As battle scars there remained on the gate and walls of the education bureau compound several chalked-up slogans in Chinese as well as the two, laconic but expressive, English words: "No Examinations."

St. John's University To Start New Life

VARIOUS educational schemes affecting the fate of Christian universities in Shanghai were under consideration of the Mission Board of New York City, Bishop W. P. Roberts declared at a recent annual meeting the St. John's Alumni Association in Shanghai.

At the same occasion, the past difficulties of the St. John's University in Shanghai during the occupation period were recalled while valuable work done by the University's medical units in the interior was mentioned.

The first post-war meeting of the Board of Directors was also held recently so that it might be hoped that a thorough administrative shake-up will erase various evils which came to the fore during the nightmarish years of the Japanese occupation.

was an interesting sport indulged in by many politicians.

The Lykes Brothers Steamship Company has resumed its service to Shanghai on its pre-war scale, Alan H. Laidlaw, acting general agent of the American Lines stated this week.

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EVENTS IN BRIEF

MR. N. S. Ananiev, who is in charge of the USSR Consulate-General in Shanghai, stated last week that the acceptance of petitions for Soviet citizenship would be resumed as of January 8, 1946.

UNRRA has decided to establish offices in cities where CNRRA regional offices are situated in order to secure better cooperation between the two organizations.

The U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Division, fighting the local black market in GI supplies, announced last week that approximately 25 U.S. military personnel are awaiting trial on charges of theft and sale of government property exceeding US$50,000 in value.

Civic organizations in Shansi have sent a message to Central Government authorities and to Communist leaders condemning atrocities committed by Communist troops in Shansi.

A train robbery on the Hankow-Canton railroad on New Year's Day was reported last week.

Residents of Shanghai, including those in the former International Settlement, French Concession, Nantao, Pootung, Western district and Chapei, who have suffered damages directly or indirectly caused by the war, may fill in application forms at the respective district offices of the Shanghai Municipal Government, it was announced last week.

Sixty persons were injured as the city police in Bombay last week dispersed a crowd which had gathered at the cremation of the bodies of the victims of a recent election rioting.

Numerous local prostitution establishments, such as girl guide societies and massage houses were forced to close down on New Year's Day with the result that 3000 girls had to look for other occupations.

Altogether 42 traitors and collaborationists were arrested last week in Hangchow and transferred to the Chekiang High Court for trial.

Joseph Billingsley, formerly attached to the American Consulate in Shanghai, sharply criticized the American Foreign Service last week in an article published in the Washington News. Declaring that State Department representatives were America's foremost line of defense, Billingsley said that most of the U.S. foreign diplomats were playboys aping the ways of European society. Billingsway also criticized the present system of nepotism in that a good friend is of higher value than personal abilities.

North Burma again was reported a battle scene last week when U.S. reports told atrocious stories of banditry and of double lives of apparently decent Burma citizens.

Press reports from Manila last week told of the killing of a Filipino cashier and the injuring of two other employees when a bomb concealed in a package exploded in a Chinese-owned hotel. The owner, N. G. Young, who was described as a well-known nationalist, was one of the injured. Manila police reported that recently Young had received a letter in Chinese ordering him to discharge all "communist" employees from his restaurant.

More than 2000 ounces of opium and more than 1000 packages of heroin were burned publicly in Tientsin on January 1. The drugs had been confiscated from the puppet Opium Prohibition Bureau.

All drug dealers and medical practitioners will have to submit the texts of their advertisements to the Bureau of Public Health for examination before they are allowed to be inserted in newspapers, it was announced last week.

Mukden and Harbin were taken over last week by Central Government officials.

All Chinese armed forces were merged into one organization, it was announced last week.

Definite orders to return all seized motorcars to their rightful owners was issued to the Chinese Army by Gen. Ho Ying-chin, the Ministry of Information announced last week.

The mainland section of Hongkong was rocked last week through an explosion of a tunnel in Kowloon in which the Japanese reportedly stored cordite and other explosives.

The United States and Soviet Russia fully recognized this week the new coalition Austrian Government of Chancellor Leopold Figl.

The Alien Property Administration has nothing to hide, and it will release comprehensive statistics regarding the numerous cases it has dealt with as soon as the necessary preparations has been completed, the APA announced this week in answer to sharp attacks on the part of local Chinese papers which alleged that the APA was working in an underhand manner.

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Government Plans For New Taiwan

TAIWAN, lost son of China, recently taken over by the Central Government, represents a substantial asset in China's economic balance sheet, having an area of 30,000 square miles and a population of about 6,000,000. Taiwan will be governed according to principles laid down by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, it was announced by General Chen Yi, Governor of Taiwan, last week. Racial inequalities will be removed and true democracy will be realized as soon as the political reducation of the people of Taiwan has been achieved.

During the war, patriotic citizens of Taiwan formed Guerilla units and also sent representatives to the wartime capital of China to contact authorities of the motherland.

Sino-American Trade To Grow Experts Say

NEWS of impending developments on China's trade fronts made headlines during the past few days. Reports well studded with billion dollar figures painted roseate pictures of substantial trade volumes moving in a never-ending stream over the Pacific. These stories shorn of their exuberant statements boiled down to the sober fact that the United States financial leaders and experts would like to see an industrialized China as a potential trade partner in years to come. To achieve this end, however, substantial investments are necessary and the question arises of who is to foot the bill.

The new international cooperative scheme, having brought into existence the International Investment Bank and the International Stabilization Fund, will undoubtedly prove helpful in this respect by investing funds in those more risky fields which may scare off the private investor.

Besides talk, however, not much has materialized with the exception of a cotton loan estimated from US$20,000,000 to US$30,000,000 to be granted by the American Export and Import Bank.

Lee M. Bristol, president of the Sino-American Council of Commerce and Industry, declared in this respect that the international monetary fund will enable China to exchange Chinese Currency against foreign currencies up to approximately US$137,000,000 a year for a five-year period.

Unfreezing of approximately US $350,000,000 of Chinese funds now on deposit in American banks would also contribute to a livelier Sino-American trade, it was further pointed out.

Bristol, however, also stressed the fact that private American investors and businessmen appeared rather reluctant since they showed concern over the recent Chinese Company Laws.

More tangible results, nevertheless, were achieved by the U.S. Arbitration Association regarding suggestions of a bilateral agree-

Who's Who in China

S. H. SHEN, secretary-general, Shanghai Municipal Government; born at Huchow, Chekiang, 1901; B.A. St. John's University, 1924; Berlin University, 1926; secretary, Chinese Legation, Berlin,

S. H. SHEN (Shen Shih-hwa)
沈士華

1928-1930; acting-consul general, Hamburg, 1931-35; Director of Administrative Department, Ministry of Communications, 1933-37; and concurrently Secretary, Board of Trustees for Administration of Boxer Indemnity Fund Remitted by British Government; acting director, Transportation Control Administration, with office in Rangoon, 1942; Chinese Commissioner to India, 1942-45; appointed Secretary-General, Shanghai Municipal Government, September, 1945; address: Shanghai City Government, Shanghai.

French Traitor Case Creates Tension Here

QUESTIONS of international law and alleged infringements of Chinese sovereignty here by the arrest of an alleged French collaborator by the name of Paul-Francois Sarcopine Tosoli by the French Consulate-General led to a heated controversy between the Chinese and the French authorities this week. From the French point of view, the arrest was legal since the French had never given up extra-territoriality and could not consider themselves bound by acts of the puppet Vichy regime which had transacted diplomatic business with the puppet Chinese government to that extent.

The French Consulate-General, however, declared that the present tension will be relieved when a new agreement will be signed to replace the obviously obsolete Sino-French agreement in which the French were given extra-territoriality.

ment between the United States and China for joint trade arbitration machinery. Leading Chinese and American bankers were present at the recent meeting of the Association, which aims at more modest achievements than the billion dollars experts

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

A. H. J. LOVINK, Netherlands Ambassador to China, and R. H. GULICK, First Secretary of the Netherlands Embassy arrived in Nanking last week.

DR. T. V. SOONG, President of the Executive Yuan, gave a luncheon party last week to members of the People's Political Council at his official residence in Peiping. After hearing views on various problems in North China expressed by his guests at the party, Dr. Soong pledged that he would seek concrete measures for their solution within a short period.

HA HSIUNG, head of the Department of Construction, Ministry of the Interior, and his adviser, Lieutenant NORMAN I. GORDON, arrived in Shanghai last week on an inspection tour of the city's post-war reconstruction projects.

CHANG KIA-NGAU, Chairman of the Economic Commission of the Generalissimo's Headquarters in the Northeast, and GENERAL TU YU-MING, Commander of the Peace Preservation Corps in the Northeast, arrived in Changchun last week.

MAYOR CHIEN TA-CHUN held a cocktail party at the Shanghai Municipal Government on New Year's Day, with government and municipal officials, diplomats, high-ranking Allied officers and journalists attending.

SSU HO-TENG, SZU HOU-SHIEH, and DAH CHENG-YUNG, three China National Airways Corporation employees selected by the Chinese Government have completed three months of training at the national airport in Washington and will go elsewhere for further studies, the Civil Aeronautics Administration announced last week.

GENERAL HO YING-CHIN, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Army, left Chungking last week for London as Chungking last week for London as China's representative to the conference of the chiefs of staff of the Allied Nations. During his absence Gen. Pai Chung-hsi, chief of staff of the Chinese Army, will act as commander-in-chief.

T. V. SOONG, President of the Exective Yuan, returned by plane from Tsingtao Monday after concluding an spection tour of North China. Upon his arrival here he urged speedy release of enemy and puppet stocks for sale in the market to counteract rising prices.

DR. MEI JU-AO and DR. HSIANG CHE-CHIN were appointed as the Chinese judge and prosecutor respectively for the Allied trial of war crime suspects in Japan. With the arrival of the United States representative preparations for the establishment of an Allied War Crimes Commission for Japan are nearing completion. Both Chinese jurists are American trained and members of the Legislative Yuan. They will leave for Japan shortly.

CHIANG CHING-KUO, personal representative and son of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, left Moscow last week. Chiang was seen off at the aerodrome by Silin, member of the Peoples Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of USSR, and other leading Russian diplomats together with the members of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow.

COL. LLOYD LEHRBAS, former aide de camp to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and one-time editor of the China Press, has been appointed executive editor of a new weekly magazine "World-Report."

LT. COL. SEICHI OHTA, former commander of the Japanese secret police in Manila during the occupation was convicted last week of war crimes and sentenced to death by hanging.

WILLIAM JOYCE, "Lord Haw Haw" of German Radio Fame was hanged last week at Wandsworth Prison, London.

MAJOR GENERAL CLAIRE LEE CHENNALT, former commander of the U.S. 14th Air Force in China, arrived by plane Monday. Chennault, at present retired from active service is best known for having organized the American Volunteer Group, the "Flying Tigers." He is visiting China to conduct, what he called a "post-war economic survey."

WEI TAO-MING, Chinese Ambassador to the United States, conferred briefly with President Harry S. Truman before leaving for China January 7. The ambassador revealed that he was leaving for Chungking for consultation with his government.

CAPTAIN W. E. KIRBY, old China hand and Secretary of the China Coast Officers' Guild and of the Marine Enginers' Guild of China died in a Hongkong Camp in 1944 it is reported. Captain Kirby is survived by his wife and daughter, Phyllis, in Australia.

Brigadier General PAUL W. CRAWAY, General Wedemeyer's Acting Chief of Staff was decorated with the China National Government's Paoting, Collar Order, by Mayor Chien Ta-chun, last week.

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Local Market Generally Steady; Trading Moderate

SHANGHAI's market during the past few days represented a comparatively moderate affair as compared with pre-war activities here. Gold bar transactions and U.S. dollar notes speculation are of interest to a rather small group of people, while the local share business is also limited in scope and volume.

Gold bars ruled from firm to steady, but the volume of transactions was moderate, the more so since margin dealing is not carried on officially, with only a few small houses engaging in this kind of business.

Shares, too, showed a firm tendency which might be brought into connection with the still persisting easiness of the money market. Speaking of the money market, however, one has to say that the rates of interest being charged for the time being are still exorbitant as compared with peacetime levels. Monthly rates of about 10% are the rule, and whereas during the puppet regime these high rates could be justified by the rapidly expanding volume of circulation such an excuse is untenable at the present time when more stable conditions are prevailing.

On the other hand, one should not lose sight of the fact that many banks here have practically nothing to do, so that the loan business is the only kind of revenue they can rely on for the covering of expenses, and one does not like to cut one's own throat, even if such a procedure should be justified on economic grounds.

Loans, however, at the present time are mostly taken out for financing transactions in the share and gold bar markets. Real investment banking for productive purposes is still a far way off, with many local industries lying idle at the present time.

Touching upon foreign trade, the present volume of transactions is still insignificant and nobody knows when the promised loans will realize, with the exception of the cotton loan amounting to about US$30,000,000 given to China by the the Export-Import Bank.

The exchange problem has not been solved yet, but that much appears to be certain: exchange will most likely be given for priority imports while other goods will have to wait until a surplus has accumulated in the hands of the official Chinese banks.

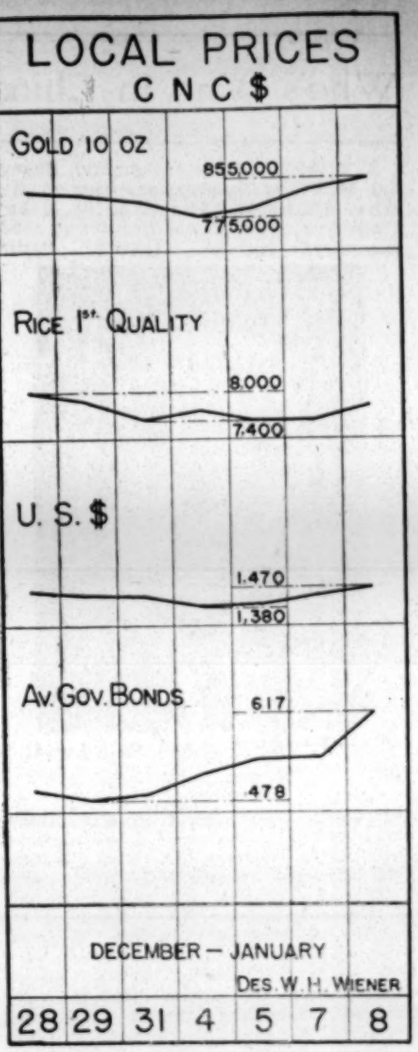
On the other hand, the Chinese Government has concluded some very favorable deals in connection with American surplus materials which were sold to the Chinese Government at comparatively low prices, while the U.S. Army on the other hand will be glad to have disposed of the stuff at some price.

It stands to reason that such transactions will continue for some time until all the surplus material of the American Army in China has been handed over to the Chinese Government.

Since these materials, by the way, are exactly those which China most urgently needs for her reconstruction program, it could be argued that the Chinese Government for the time being is in no particular hurry to engage itself by a pegging of the exchange rate, the more so since UNRRA vessels are bringing in more supplies to help China in tiding over her difficult transition period.

Wednesday's morning closing quotations were as follows:

	CN$	CN$
Gold Bars	856,000	859,000
U.S. Dollar Notes	1458	1463
Wing On Textiles	1180	1190
Mayar Silk	830	840
New-Asia Chemicals	24	26
Smart Shirts	65½	66½
Ewo Cotton.....	3470	3520
Wheelocks	7200	7500
Metal Industries .	1980	2030



Local Prices

The period under review registered firmer rates for gold bar and U.S. dollar quotations. Government Bonds also firmed up, following the general upward movement of shares on the local market. Rice on the other hand ruled comparatively steady, a sign that initial transport difficulties were obviously overcome. Uncertainty still marks transactions in the goldbar and U.S. dollar notes markets with the exchange question still undecided. A certain amount of free trade though is going on which might strengthen the demand side of the market in addition to speculative transactions.

Seized enemy newsprint amounting to about 1100 rolls will shortly be distributed by the Alien Property Administration to various newspapers in Shanghai, according to local reports this week.

Local coal supplies are ctill far from the pre-war level, it was reported this week. Whereas some 200,000 tons of coal per month would be needed here for unrestricted use of gas and power, only 90,000 tons of coal were shipped to Shanghai last month, an amount which is arely sufficient for Shanghai's essential requirements.

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Lee Explains Cnrra Selling Operations

EXPLAINING CNRRA operations, Mr. C.M. Lee, deputy director of CNRRA's Shanghai Office, said last week that selling operations of CNRRA were only experimental in nature and not at all directed against the local business man here or elsewhere in China. Proceeds from the sales would be used for emergency purposes and for covering part of the operational expenses. The Central Government of China on its part has made large contributions toward CNRRA operational expenses, Mr. Lee pointed out, the ratio being CNC $1000 to one U.S. dollar.

From November, 1945, up to the present, a total of 15 ships has arrived with about 100,000 tons of supplies of which over 70 percent consist of flour and wheat. Nine-tenths of the shipments were discharged, and around 25,000 tons are stored in Shanghai godowns for local distribution. Thirty thousand tons of supplies, consisting of flour, used clothes and shoes, corrogated iron sheets and cotton gloves were sent to other Chinese towns, Mr. Lee concluded.

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BUSINESS FOOT-NOTES

IN order to increase the production of sugar, the Joint Office of the Four Government Banks granted sugar manufacturers a loan of $760,000,000 last week of which sum $500,000,000 will be given to Neikiang, $200,000,000 to Tsechung and the rest to Chienyang, according to a Chungking spokesman.

Steamship ticket fares for down-river trips from Chungking will be increased as from January 1946, if a resolution which was adopted at a joint meeting of all steamship companies in Chungking under the direction of the All China Shipping Distribution Commission is approved by the Executive Yuan. The rate for up-river trips will be increased by 135 percent.

The examination of the national budget for the year 1946, which amounts to $2,400,000,000, by the Resident Committee of the People's Political Council was completed last week. The budget was also examined by the National Supreme Defense Council.

Of more than 100 commercial banks in Chungking, eight have stopped their business due to inability to balance their accounts, it was reported from Chungking last week.

Headquarters, U.S. Forces, China Theater, revealed this week that the Chinese Government has agreed to pay US$25,000,000 and CN$6,160,000,000 for the major portion of all U.S. Army stocks and installations remaining in West China. The agreement provides for the transfer of 13 categories of supplies, ranging from office equipment to complete airfields. The Chinese Government has agreed to pay US$5,000,000, in cash and the remainder in 30 equal annual payments at an interest rate of 2 and 3/8% on unpaid balances. Chinese payments will be made in the form of credits against an estimated CN$150,000,000 furnished the U.S. Army during the war.

Coal production in North China has more than doubled in the last 30 days, now touching the 63,000 ton level per week. This outstanding result was partly due to the action of UNRRA and CNRRA which, realizing the importance of coal supplies to China's industrial centers sold Australian flour to the Kailan Mining Administration both as a stimulant and as an added food source for the undernourished miners.

China's cotton industries will shortly receive between 275,000 and 300,000 bales of United States raw cotton. The Export-Import Bank is expected to announce a US$33,000,000 credit to finance purchase of the cotton for China. The agreement for the purchase will be similar to cotton loans already extended to various European countries.

UNRRA supplies sent to China touched the 100,000-ton level last week when UNRRA headquarters announced that 15 ships have already carried the abovementioned quantity of food, clothing and medicine to Chinese ports. The supplies were given to the Chinese Government for distribution largely in the area from Hankow to Liuchow and Canton. Materials for the rebuilding of railways and the control of the Yellow River dykes will shortly follow when the present UNRRA plans for the distribution of these materials have taken a tangible shape.

Highlighting friendly Sino-Russian trade relations, the Chinese Foreign Trade Office of the National Resources Commission has sold 1800 tons of Wolfram to Soviet Russia during the past few months while Russia has placed an order for 200,000 cases of Chinese tea.

Shanghai's role as one of the leading ports in the Far East has been somewhat dimmed as an outcome of the Japanese occupation. Shanghai's Whangpoo Conservancy Board has to start from scratch again, since its dredging boats were removed by the Japanese. Negotiations for return of these boats or for the purchase of similar vessels were started last week.

Thirty cotton mills taken over from the Japanese or puppets in the Shanghai area have already resumed work with 255,772 spindles and 5639 weaving machines operating again, according to the Shanghai Office of the Ministry of Economics.

Edward Locke's recent economic survey of China, which he prepared for President Truman, will be published shortly.

Two hydro-electric plants, one flour mill, one machime shop, and one sodawater factory in Kiukiang, which were recently taken over from the Japanese and the Puppets, resumed operations last week.

Understaffed U.S. consulates in the Far East cannot yet take speedy action regarding enquiries from American firms, it was announced by the Commerce Department last week. U.S. firms were advised to address their enquiries to the nearest Commerce Department Office or the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

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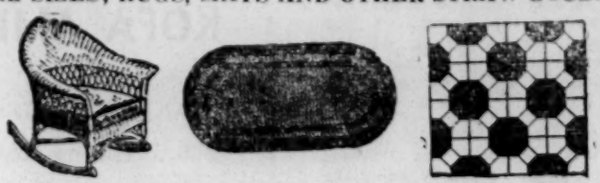

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NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Fiat Justitia

The Price of Peace By Sir William Beveridge, New York: W. W. Norton Company. 1945. 154 pp. U.S.$2.00. Reviewed by Dexter Perkins in Saturday Review of Literature.

AT the end of a great war it is normal and natural that men's thoughts should turn to the establishment of peace on more secure foundations than in the past. In the immense amount that has been written and spoken on the subject during the last two years, three approaches to the problem may be easily distinguished. The first approach is the institutional, and centers its attention on the setting up of international machinery. The second approach is the politico-diplomatic, and concentrates on the necessity of maintaining the unity of the grand alliance that won the war, and on the policing of the vanquished. The third is the economic, and is based upon the hypothesis that peace can be preserved in the future only if there is a rising standard of living in the great nations of the world. Each one of these approaches contains much that is sound, and each one, if taken by itself, is less than adequate for the solution of the most momentous—and the most complicated problem—that confronts mankind today.

Sir William Beveridge, while not unaware of the politico-diplomatic aspects of the matter, and while eagerly seeking a way to economic stability, as his recent book on "Full Employment in a Free Society" demonstrates, emphasizes in "The Price of Peace" the institutional side of the problem. Peace, he declares, must rest upon justice and law. Accordingly, what is needed is a series of absolutely impartial tribunals which will have power to decide international controversies, and whose decisions will, in the last analysis, be backed up by the collective force, of the international society. The creation of such tribunals, according to Sir William, is the crux of the problem; it is the price of peace, in the literal sense of the term.

It is impossible not to sympathize in large measure with the spirit of this approach to the matter. What is described as impractical today may be highly practical tomorrow; and it is no real criticism of the Beveridge thesis to say that it does not completely correspond to present international realities. The advocates of peace based upon law and enforced through the decision of arbitral tribunals perform a useful service, and may, with the passing of time, see their viewpoint more and more widely accepted. At the conference of San Francisco, one of the striking things to be observed was the strong feeling among the Latin-American states in favor of the judicial settlement of international disputes. There is much sentiment in England and America that tends in the same direction. The widening of the area in which matters can be settled by judicial decision is a proper objective for which to strive in the post-war era.

None the less, we should not depend upon it too fully, or accept Sir William Beveridge's proposal as an adequate solution of the problems of peace. The existing body of international law by no means provides a basis for the solution of all international disputes. Disputes between nations, like disputes between labor and capital, must often be settled by give-and-take methods of adjustment, rather than by fixed formulas. Traditionally, indeed, they have been so settled. It will take much time before the powerful states will be willing to send any matter in which they may be interested before an international court whose judgment is binding. It is much to be doubted whether—if this issue were frankly stated—the American people would be ready to assume such an obligation.

There is always danger, too, in assuming that "justice" is the final objective in international affairs. No doubt the successful settlement of any international issue must, in the long run, commend itself to the moral sense of both disputants. But "justice" like "truth" is something not altogether easy to define, or to establish. It often happens, in practical life, that the way to settle a controversy is not to rely on abstract principles, but to find a workable compromise. Principle, indeed (and the word "principle" is closely allied to "right" and "justice"), is often an irritant, and a means of prolonging, rather than settling, a difficult problem. When men assume that they are in the possession of the total moral truth, they become difficult to deal with. When, on the other hand, they seek to understand the "right" and "justice" of some other position than their own, they open the door to settlement. In international affairs, it is of the first importance to comprehend the viewpoint of those with whom we are dealing. The trouble with the appeal to "justice" often is that it rests upon assumptions, which do not take into consideration every aspect of the problem, and which do not have total validity. "*Adjustment*," rather than the effort to find an applicable rule of law, is often the proper way to deal with any international controversies.

It is only fair to say that Sir William Beveridge in some measure perceives this. He speaks of cases in which the tribunal will make only recommendations, not decisions. But he does not dwell upon this point, or sufficiently emphasize its very considerable implications.

The difficulty with "The Price of Peace," it seeems to me, is that it tends towards the simplification of a very complex problem. We cannot get peace by rule of thumb. We can get it only if we are willing to use all our best powers of mind, all the resources of understanding we possess, all the tolerance and sympathy with others that we can muster up.

Perhaps, I hear some one say, the atomic bomb will help us. Let us use this new invention to dominate the world. Mr. Churchill even hinted at this in his recent speech in the Commons. I do not believe in this reasoning. A weapon so terrible can be employed only in the white heat of passion. Moreover, if we act as if we were the lords of creation, we may be sure that a counter-wave of research will be instituted against us, and that some day reckless men will put their new discoveries to the test. We must work to broaden the area of international understanding, not to narrow it by pretensions of power. But the formula is not so simple as Sir William Beveridge seems to suggest. And it will take resolute and sustained purpose to translate the dream of peace into reality.

Sea Odyssey

THE RAFT By Robert Trumbull. Overseas Editions Inc., New York. (Published Originally by Henry Holt and Company N.Y. Copyright 1942, 147 pages. Reviewed by Urii Sdobnikoff.

ONE tough chief petty officer and two American boys who joined the Navy to fight a war went up in the air looking for Jap submarines early in 1942. This was a time when Tokyo Bay was still far off.

On their way back their plane failed to contact the mother vessel, their gas ran out and they were forced to land in the sea, 750 miles from any of the tiny atolls that dot the southern part of the Pacific. The plane, built to fly and not to sail, went down seconds after they landed (or rather watered) and they had barely time enough to blow up their eight-by-four rubber boat.

Thus, cramped inside the raft, without provisions and tools, often catapulted into the surging sea, beaten by the tropical rains and cooked by the sun, the trio cruised around for 34 days over a course of 1000 miles.

Things came to such a state that the boys openly discussed cannibalism: who would be eaten first and what parts of him would be more palatable. Food was the topic, there was no other.

That the tale was ever told to war correspondent Robert Trumball shows that their voyage ended successfully: they landed on an atoll inhabited by friendly natives. The story told in the words of the petty officer, who was skipper on the trip, adds realism to the tale, which would have been good reading if told otherwise. The permanency of the scene gives the impression of one long, dreary day punctuated by visits of submarine-like leopard sharks and B-29-like albatrosses.

The Raft is the reverse side of the colorful picture of the Pacific war, and tells what happened to the men who were declared lost but found strength and stamina enough for the way back.

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TIME TABLE

44	24	8	2	4	42	74	6	車次 TRAIN NO.		73	41	43	23	7	1	3	5
4th Class	3rd Class		Exp.	Exp.	2,3 Local	2,3 Local	Night Exp.	站名 STATIONS		2,3 Local	2,3 Local	4th Class	3rd Class		Exp.	Exp.	Night Exp.
1.00	7.00	8.00	9.00	11.00	15.00	18.00	21.00	D 上海 SHANGHAI	A	10.45	12.10	13.30	18.40	20.40	16.30	19.35	6.30
2.36	8.39	9.13	10.07	12.12	16.57	19.53	22.33	A 崑山 QUINSAN	D	8.45	10.14	11.35	17.01	19.29	15.20	18.13	5.16
2.41	8.42		10.12	12.16	17.10	19.56	22.38	D	A	8.37	10.10	11.30	16.54		15.15	18.08	5.11
3.41	9.47	10.01	10.56	13.00	18.37	20.52	23.38	A 吳縣 WUHSIEN	D	7.29	9.00	10.05	15.50	18.44	14.30	17.23	4.20
4.13	9.56	10.10	11.06	13.15	18.46	21.00	23.50	D	A	7.17	8.54	9.44	15.39	18.35	14.21	17.14	4.11
5.23	11.07	11.01	11.57	14.25	20.02	22.00	0.48	A 無錫 WUSIH	D	6.00	7.41	8.30	14.28	17.45	13.31	16.19	3.14
5.43	11.13	11.09	12.05	14.35	20.11		1.00	D	A		7.35	8.19	14.17	17.36	13.23	16.12	3.05
7.03	12.23	12.00	13.02	15.46	21.30		1.58	A 武進 WUCHIN	D		6.20	7.05	13.05	16.49	12.27	15.10	2.00
7.22	12.30		13.15	16.00			2.13	D	A			6.30	12.36		12.12	14.54	1.39
8.47	14.49		14.11	17.01			3.19	A 丹陽 TANYANG	D			5.05	10.29		11.18	13.39	0.20
8.52	15.00		14.16	17.05			3.24	D	A			4.54	10.24		11.14	13.34	0.13
9.55	15.55		14.54	17.43			4.10	A 鎮江 CHINKIANG	D			3.40	9.30		10.36	12.56	23.17
10.30	16.10		15.07	17.51			4.22	D	A			3.17	9.12		10.25	12.41	23.05
13.10	18.20		16.30	19.25			6.00	A 南京 NANKING	D			1.00	7.00		9.00	11.00	21.00

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QUINSAN 崑山	52	540.00	720.00	360.00	450.00	180.00	225.00
WUHSIEN 吳縣	86	810.00	990.00	540.00	630.00	270.00	315.00
WUSIH 無錫	129	1,170.00	1,530.00	780.00	950.00	390.00	480.00
WUCHIN 武進	167	1,530.00	1,890.00	1,020.00	1,200.00	510.00	600.00
TANYANG 丹陽	212	1,980.00	2,520.00	1,320.00	1,590.00	660.00	795.00
CHINKIANG 鎮江	242	2,250.00	2,790.00	1,500.00	1,770.00	750.00	885.00
NANKING 南京	311	2,880.00	3,600.00	1,920.00	2,280.00	960.00	1,140.00

滬杭線 SHANGHAI HANGCHOW LINE

TIME TABLE

11	61	31	車次 TRAIN NO	32	12	62
Express	2,3,4 Class	2,3 Class	站名 STATIONS	2,3 Class	Express	2,3,4 Class
7.00	7.50	15.15	D 上海北站 SHANGHAI NORTH A	13.45	19.30	22.35
7.15	8.09	15.35	A 上海西站 SHANGHAI D	13.25	19.15	22.16
7.25	8.19	15.40	D WEST A	13.20	19.05	22.11
8.14	8.24	16.45	A 松江 SUNGKIANG D	12.12	18.16	21.07
8.19	8.30	16.50	D A	12.07	18.11	21.02
9.80	11.04	18.28	A 嘉興 KASHING D	10.38	17.00	19.35
9.42	11.13	18.40	D A	10.26	16.48	19.25
10.16	11.52	19.19	A 峽石 HASHA D	9.38	16.14	18.42
10.18	11.54	19.21	D A	9.36	16.12	18.40
10.58	12.39	20.07	A 長安 CHANGAN D	8.51	15.37	17.51
10.58	12.44	20.14	D A	8.46	15.32	17.46
12.00	14.00	21.30	A 杭州 HANGCHOW D	7.30	14.30	16.30

FARE LIST

STATIONS 站名	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express	
SHANGHAI 上海							
SUNGKIANG 松江	45	450.00	632.00	300.00	290.00	150.00	495.00
KASHING 嘉興	99	900.00	1,080.00	600.00	690.00	300.00	345.00
HASHA 峽石	125	1,170.00	1,530.00	780.00	960.00	290.00	480.00
CHANGAN 長安	151	1,440.00	1,800.00	960.00	1,140.00	480.00	570.00
HANGCHOW 杭州	199	1,710.00	2,070.00	1,140.00	1,320.00	570.00	660.00

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